2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

travelers, dressed in their brightest, newest garments, were speeded on their way. The friends and relatives loaded them with money and presents of clothing, food, and wool, which the pilgrims were to donate to the great and holy monastery. The whole ceremony of leave-taking was made a part of the bright landscape by the flowers everywhere—on the dress of the pilgrims, fastened to the gifts, and carried in huge bunches. Upon their return a few days later the dusty pilgrims were met at the outskirts of the village and escorted home through the blue twilight by those eager to hear of every adventure during the days and nights in the great mountains, whose jagged walls have protected Rila Monastery for hundreds of years.

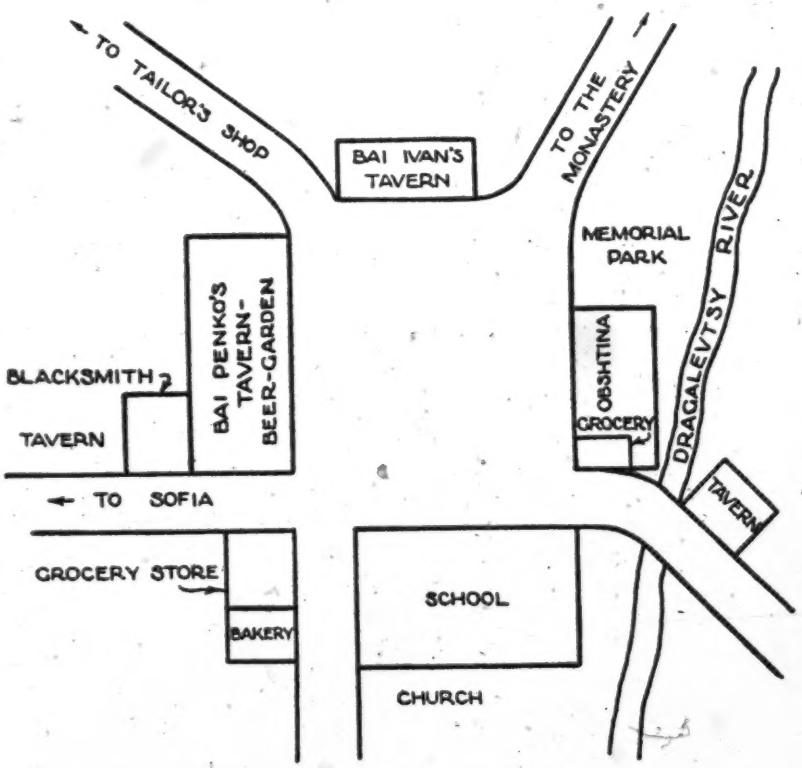
Formal piety, as shown in pilgrimages, was only one of the major characteristics which these Bulgarian villagers possessed. The Dragalevtsy people, especially the men, were predominantly literate. Bulgaria, despite what seems a forbidding Cyrillic alphabet, has the highest rate of literacy of all Balkan countries, a fact which can be attributed to the tendency to regard education as a panacea for individual and social ills. While only 44 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age could read and write, 92 per cent of the men were literate. Of course, I often came upon groups of peasants crowded around a friend slowly spelling out a newspaper article aloud, but these little clusters of attentive listeners originated because of the scarcity of newspaper subscribers, not necessarily because of illiteracy.

The Dragalevtsy people were also law-abiding. During the first three years I knew the village, and informants said that the record went much farther back than that, no Dragalevtsy peasant had been taken to Sofia for imprisonment. There was no local jail, nor any need for one. This was not a sign of the inefficiency of local police, but rather an indication of the peaceable and honest traits of the people.

In many other characteristics the villagers shared what have come to be known as the universal "rural virtues," for theirs was an agrarian way of life. More than three-fourths of the family heads were peasant proprietors. In addition to these, there were two other occupational groups: the intellectuals and the artisans. Despite their small number, the intelligentsia, as they were called by the peasants, were the most influential group in the community. Whenever the

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

361



Renaissance Square, the focal point of Dragalevtsy's communal life

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weather was agreeable I was sure to find several of them playing cards in front of Bai Penko's tavern on the northern side of Renaissance Square, where the winter *horo* was held. Even though they sat engrossed in their game, they could still keep an eye on what was happening in the village, since this square was the focal point of community life. The mayor, for instance, could watch the Obshtina, or municipal building, across the square, as well as all traffic that entered this rocky plot of ground on its way to the city of Sofia below or to the monastery higher up Mount Vitosha. The priest could look past the modern school building, flanking the western side of the square, to the church just beyond. The village doctor's husband was near in

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

463
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case his wife needed him, although he invariably grumbled in his native Russian upon being called away from the game. A fourth hand during the summer was a reserve army officer whose intense love for German efficiency and ideology and whose contempt for the "ignorant, unreliable peasant" became bywords in the community. Peasants sitting on the porch of Bai Ivan's tavern on the eastern side of the square could observe with seeming indifference the intelligentsia at play, distracted though they were at times by the fervent temperance lectures delivered by the tavern keeper's daughter-in-law whenever she placed a glass of *rakiya* in front of a customer.

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These intelligentsia proved to be interesting people. The mayor had a good education, completed by the study of law in Russia. His father had been a priest in Boyana, a village just four miles to the west, so the mayor, himself a *Shop,* knew the workings of the peasant mind. When he was sent to the village as mayor back in 1934, after the *coup d'état* of that year abolished all elections and deprived many local officials of their jobs, he issued a flowery proclamation which contained such thoughts as these:

> Therefore, as I take up my duties, desiring greatly to use the small abilities that I possess for the economic and cultural uplift of the villages included in the commune entrusted to my care, I wish to express my good feelings of loyalty and friendliness and attachment to the population and to certify that I am ready to work for the uplift of our commune and to be the loyal conveyor of its economic and cultural interests and needs.
>
> Imbued with the idea that we are all members of the same family, sons of mother Bulgaria, let us forget the recent past of shameful partisan struggles and begin to live as genuine brothers—Bulgarians filled with mutual love, patience, harmony, respect, and good will.
>
> Let us do our duty to these beautifully situated villages, perched on the slope of Mount Vitosha, and make them attractive gardens, with culture, and places of merriment and songs.

The people soon learned that the mayor when excited talked so rapidly that he failed to enunciate clearly, and they always enjoyed mimicking this mannerism. They did not particularly resent his management of their affairs, despite the fact that he had been sent by the central government which gave local communes no choice in

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

875 were turned over to Greece and Yugoslavia, respectively, after the first World War; while Dimiter was from the section of Thrace which Bulgaria was forced to surrender. Since the teachers had such backgrounds it was no wonder that adorning one of the classrooms was a sign, "NEMA MIR DOKATO NEUILLY" or "There will be no peace as long as the Treaty of Neuilly is in force."

The director of the school was a vigorous woman with splendid preparation for her task. She told me on several occasions how disappointed she was that her teachers took so little interest in helping the peasants improve their way of life. They were supposed to spend Sunday afternoons visiting the homes of their pupils in an effort to advise parents in matters of child care and standards of hygiene. Actually, the teachers, being all too human, preferred to spend the week end in Sofia rather than reform the unenthusiastic adults.

● [565] 527 659 The intelligentsia were usually seen in their glory at some great occasion such as the celebration of an important holiday. The event which caused most excitement during my six years of residence in Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon, heir apparent to the throne of his father, King Boris. The exercises which were held in Dragalevtsy four days after the royal birth in 1937 showed how the intellectuals worked hand in hand, since the school, the church, and the state were so closely allied.

[796] The crowd had to wait at least forty-five minutes for the priests from the monastery who were to help Father Sava with the liturgy of the *vodosvet,* or consecration of the holy water, whose sprinkling gave official religious recognition to the closing of the school year. Then the mayor began to speak the high-sounding phrases which the villagers loved to hear. He told them how significant for Bulgaria was the birth of Prince Simeon.

> June Sixteenth [he said] will be written in golden letters in the history of Bulgaria. June Sixteenth marks the day when an heir was born to the throne of Bulgaria. Our school house has no name, so I recommend that we petition for the right to call our school "Prince Simeon II." The first Simeon who reigned a thousand years ago was called Simeon the Great. I feel sure that Simeon the Second will likewise go down in history as Simeon the Great.
>
> [871] In honor of this great occasion, the Government has decreed that the marks of every student will be raised, so that no one will fail in any subject. [Hurrah!

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Hurrah!] That's right; nobody will fail. No pupil will repeat the class next year! [Hurrah! Hurrah!] All deportment marks likewise will be raised and anyone who has been expelled from school will be accepted back on probation. The government is cancelling over a billion leva in unpaid taxes and is freeing thousands of prisoners . . . . [871]

Before he finished he led the children, and such adults as would join, in further cheers for Prince Simeon, for King Boris, and for Queen Iovanna. After the school choir had sung the national anthem and the "Hymn to the King," all filed inside for the official graduation exercises. There were more patriotic songs and at least twenty declamations with such titles as "Three Days at the Battle of Shipka," "To our Teachers," "A Prayer to God," "I Like the Priest," "I am a Temperance Girl," and "Nature." Displays of the children's handwork, as well as these recitations, brought some recognition to the teachers who had worked behind the scenes. 527 659 871

The director in her remarks thanked the mayor and the priest profusely and the parents casually for the help they had rendered during the past year. When she was about to present the diplomas, such bedlam broke loose that few could hear the compliments she paid the brightest pupils, who had received as special awards from the mayor books on war and religion. The exercises concluded with the presentation of a large bouquet from the pupils to the school director, who politely accepted the flowers on behalf of all the teachers.

The intelligentsia just described had more importance than their village duties seemed to indicate. They were the channels through which the national state, the national church, and the national school system expressed themselves. No member of this select group was Dragalevtsy-born. Their high status rested not only upon the influence they wielded as representatives of powerful institutions, but also upon the fact that they were educated. Education, along with the patient accumulation of land and money, was one sound way of raising one's social position, and those who had persevered in its pursuit received due honor. As one father said to his son upon sending him to school: "If you don't study you will plow, sow, and work in the fields, and where will you get then?" 565 554 [555]

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

291
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178

"Since the World War there has been much change. Men stopped wearing their narrow white trousers which belted below the hips because they saw during the war that pants that belted above the hips were better. The women changed to lighter clothes because a woman from Vladaya [another village] came with others to visit here, married a Dragalevtsy man, and settled here. Other women saw that the clothes she wore were more convenient and began to adopt the new style."

The tailor's customers brought their own cloth. Five or six of the more fashion-minded young women brought dresses from other villages to be copied. A girl before marriage accumulated about twenty black *sukmani* (jumper dresses), all of the same pattern. She wore out about three of these a year. The men had one black and one rough everyday suit.

Much of the cloth was dyed at home by the peasants with the use of commercial dyes. Black was the universal color for men except in the case of the old style white trousers. If any man deviated from this fashion, people said mockingly, "You are a gypsy," thereby reminding him that he had better act like other people or run the risk of additional social disapproval.

291
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Shoes in Bulgaria were definitely a sign of social rank. *Tsarvulin* or "sandal-wearer," once a common term for farmer or peasant, has been somewhat displaced by *selenin* or "villager." As a matter of fact, most men in Dragalevtsy continued to wear the pigskin sandals, whereas all self-respecting village women possessed a pair of cheap western shoes. Comically enough, they frequently walked barefoot and carried these uncomfortable badges of status. Just the same, these shoes periodically needed the services of a cobbler, who in Dragalevtsy happened to be the youngest married son of Bai Milush, a highly respected peasant proprietor. Three sons, their wives and progeny comprised part of the twenty people living in Bai Milush's patriarchal dwelling. As the land which will someday be divided up among the sons was limited, each son agreed to specialize along some particular line: the oldest was the dairyman, the middle son was the crop expert, and the youngest married son (and, incidentally, the most delicate in health) was a cobbler, whom the family agreed to send to a trade school in Sofia. Because he drove in his wooden pegs with the best of them, he was building up a profitable business in the village.

463

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

[651] people living in the district, been a part of the village Obshtina. This 178 area had always been referred to by the villagers as the Mahala, or 369 Quarter.

4. Repairs in the village, such as putting a wooden bridge back into commission after a heavy storm, could be made only after the Sofia authorities gave their approval. Thus, maintenance of roads and other services in the village were said to suffer.

[759] 5. No longer did the village have its own doctor, and it had even lost, so the villagers said, all the medical equipment including microscopes and blood-testing units which the village Obshtina had once owned. Instead, a doctor came at irregular intervals to render whatever medical services were required. This loss of medical equipment, even more than the loss of the physician's services, was a hard pill for some of the more active village leaders to swallow.

6. In place of the veterinarian, who formerly lived in the village, one came twice a week to examine animals and to see that the various veterinary regulations were observed.

But whether they liked it or not, the Dragalevtsy people were a part of Sofia, even to the extent of being included in the city's wartime rationing system. The old rural-urban differences persisted, reminding Americans of similar situations in the United States where the businessman's daylight saving time was anathema to the farmer.

159 As I tried to reconstruct the chief occurrences of the years in- ● 585 tervening between my departure in 1937 and the end of the war, I inquired often as to the whereabouts of some members of the intelligentsia whom I had known well. I learned that the mayor, who had been so helpful during my earlier visit, had given up his post during the days of German collaboration. Apparently he had disagreed with the local committee as to procedures and amounts of grain to be requisitioned from the peasants. He had already been suffering from ill health and could no longer stand the pressure of troubles, arguments, and dissatisfactions which each day brought to his office. From Dragalevtsy my mayor friend had been transferred to the picturesque village of Panchevo, which I shall long remember because of the lunch I had there one summer's day many years ago.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EEl Bulgaria EEl

A friend and I had been cycling on the road which followed the Iskar River and stopped at a Panchevo inn. The waiter brought us white peasant cheese, wrinkled brined olives, and freshly made bread to which warm ashes clung. Cold beer made a perfect drink.

The village priest, who had become such an integral part of village life and managed to keep harmonious relationships between the church and the state functionaries, was no longer in Dragalevtsy. Three years ago he had become involved in an administrative argument with his superior and was told to transfer to a much less desirable parish. Rather than make this shift he went to live in Sofia where, true to his training in finance and commerce, he had a share in a small business enterprise. He still wore his priestly garb, occasionally officiating in a Sofia church. Someone described him as "a minister without portfolio."

The directress of the school was the only member of the intelligentsia who had stuck to her post through thick and thin. She still took the same interest in the all-around development of the children, emphasizing in particular their hygienic training and their religious tuition. There had been considerable shifting in the membership of her teaching staff, but she still had five teachers who, like their predecessors, were more interested in Sofia week ends than village welfare.

The Sekretar Birnik, who had much to do with the collection of taxes and thus enjoyed a social standing out of line with his educational preparation, had also left Dragalevtsy and had been replaced by a local person.

It seemed strange to visit the now completed municipal building and to find the woman doctor no longer there and to notice the absence of her husband from the taverns where he had enjoyed playing cards. Since both were White Russians they knew that their lot under the Communists would be full of uncertainty. No one seemed to know just where they had gone.

Much had been happening to the village organizations as the intelligentsia faded from the scene or were replaced by others with different points of view. The Red Cross, in which the mayor had

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

266

APPENDIX VIII

BULGARIANS AND SOUTHERN RURAL WHITES IN CONTRAST*

565
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The Bulgaria of which I speak is three-fourths rural, definitely peasant. The group of Southern whites to which I limit myself in this analogy is made up of the small farmer, whether he be owner, tenant, sharecropper, hillbilly, or cracker.[1] My discussion, centering as it does upon what the political columnists so fondly and not inaccurately term the "little people" of each region, therefore excludes the comparatively well-to-do urban industrial and professional groups of both Bulgaria and the South. In comparing rural Bulgaria and the rural South I was reminded of a question which has been often raised recently: Are we to have an American peasant class?[2] While I cannot answer this question to my own satisfaction I recognize its implications. If we are to have a peasant class there is much we can learn from the agricultural sections of Europe where a stable, organized life has gone on for hundreds of years through the intensive use of all available natural resources in the midst of turbulent political changes, plagues, and famines.

Just as visitors in writing of the South misuse the word "poor white," so we in considering the European scene often misuse the word "peasant," giving it a connotation of reproach as though a peasant were a serf.[4] The

* Read before the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5, 1940. Appeared as an article in *Social Forces*, XIX, No. 1, October, 1940. Reprinted by permission.

[1] "The South today, especially the Southeast, is essentially a land of hillbillies and other ruralites, whose chief contact with the commerce and culture of the world is through hick towns (p. 8).

"The South is a land of farms and farmers." . . . To appraise the South is to appraise farmers, whether for the art of living or for the lack of a living" (pp. 10-11). H. C. Nixon, *Forty Acres and Steel Mules* (Chapel Hill, 1938).

[2] " . . . Such are the beginnings of peasantry in the New World—The Collapse of the Black Belt plantation system is a preface to American peasantry." A. F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties* (Chapel Hill, 1936), p. 4.

[3] W. T. Couch, Editor, *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1934). See chapt. 20, The Tradition of "Poor Whites," by A. N. j. Den Hollander. M. R. Mell, "Poor Whites of the South," *Social Forces*, December, 1938, pp. 153-167.

[4] " . . . With this transformation (that is, the peasant becoming an entrepreneur) have come changes in the connotation of the word 'peasant.' He is no longer a rustic of inferior status too ignorant and dull to take advantage of commercial opportunities;

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

565 ●
105

Bulgarian peasants whom I knew intimately for six years are independent farmers who dwell in their own homes, subsist on their own land[3] and form a folk, in the anthropological sense.

Bulgaria, a Balkan country the size of Ohio with a population of six million, was for five hundred years under Turkish rule, becoming independent in 1878 as a result of a Russo-Turkish War. Bulgaria's reconstruction period therefore covers approximately the same time as ours.[4] The few large landowners in Bulgaria fled to Turkey after the Liberation. This means that the Bulgarian farmers own their land; tenancy is very uncommon; the employment of farm laborers even less common.[5] As the farm population has increased, the already small holdings have had to be further divided, until now the average farm totals 15 acres scattered in 17 strips around the picturesque villages in which the people live.[6] The heart of Bulgarian peasant economy is the agricultural village[7]; the heart of life in the village is the home and the family system. Each farm of 17 acres must support, in addition to all dependents, four or five adults of working age. The fact that women and children

it is increasingly recognized that the really important characteristics peculiar to the peasant are his sentiments and attitudes, the intense attachment to his native soil and family tradition, which, even in the economic sphere, take precedence over the desire for individual advancement and gain. This peasant ethos is common throughout continental Europe." *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* Article on Peasantry by C. von Dietze.

[3] Peasantry, of course, is not synonymous with farm ownership everywhere in Europe, but the governments there (notably in Ireland and Denmark) recognize the importance of a landed peasantry as shown by recent attempts to lessen tenancy. See *Farm Tenancy, Report of President's Committee,* 1937, Section III, Some Tenure Programs of other Nations.

[4] The crises through which Bulgaria has passed have much in common with those of the South as listed in H. W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, 1936), pp. 13-14. Nikola Stanev, *Istoria Na Nova Bulgaria, 1878-1928* (History of the New Bulgaria), Sofia, 1929.

[5] Ian C. Mollov and T. E. Bakurdjiev, *Organizatsionnata Struktura Na Zemedelskoto Stopanstvo Vv Sofiiska Okolia* (The Organizational Structure of the Farms in the County of Sofia), Sofia, 1931, pp. 6-7. (95.3 per cent of farmers work their own land, 4.7 per cent rent their land; only 3.2 per cent employ hired labor.)

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 5. For the country as a whole see the *Statesman's Year Book, 1939*: "According to the census of 1934, eighty per cent of the active population were engaged in agriculture, most of them being small proprietors holding from *one to six acres.*" This is understood more clearly when it is remembered that only thirty-nine per cent of the total area is arable and that this is divided into 750,613 farms. (*The New International Yearbook, 1938,* article on Bulgaria.)

[7] H. C. Nixon, *op. cit.* "Farm ownership or a sounder lease policy is not enough to enable Southern hillbillies to live in decency. It is essential to provide by public effort for social and economic co-operation among small farmers, to make possible a better system of farm villages" p. 61.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

565
105

work outdoors with the men means an abundant labor supply but also requires close co-operation, planning, and division of labor.[30]

511
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Peasant economy is based on a self-subsistence principle in which a satisfactory balance between plant and animal life is maintained.[31] Since cash income is low the plane of living is low.[32] That is, the peasant cannot buy from the outside world much in the way of clothing, machinery, conveniences, or recreation. On the other hand, he does eat well according to his own standards. Furthermore, he maintains his self-respect. There is security in land which nothing else affords unless it be a family large enough to work the land one owns. No matter how much one discounts that sort of economy, history has shown it to be the most enduring man has yet devised.

The picture is different in the South.[33] Although our farms average 71 acres they are operated by tenants in 54 per cent of the cases,[34] usually on a cash crop basis.[35] Only in the Appalachian-Ozark area, which by the way is most like the Bulgarian, do we find subsistence-farming as the prevailing principle.[36] There, however, it is blighted by isolation and lacks the co-operative features found in most agricultural villages: a swineherd caring during the day for all pigs in the village, communal pastures, or neighborhood cornhoeing groups. To be sure, there is mutual aid and co-operation in the highlands but these tend to be confined to periods of crisis rather than to the performance of ordinary daily tasks.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 14: "In fact, excessive ruralism has caused an unusual amount of labor to fall to the lot of women in this region of chivalry [the South]."

[31] Oxen, water-buffalo and horses, in the order of importance, are the work animals in Bulgaria. The government is trying to persuade peasants to replace oxen with dual-purpose cows as an economy move.

[32] Ian C. Mollov and H. K. Kondov, *Dohodnostuta Na 57 Zemedelski Stopanstva Vv Bulgaria* (1932-33). (The Incomes of 57 Bulgarian Farms for 1932-33.) This study gives some indication of the level of living possible.

[33] Standards of living are low in the South. See C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, Washington, 1938. Good bibliographies on pp. 8 and 9; description of the Old South, pp. 115-119.

[34] *Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, 1937*, p. 35. Figures cited here are for sixteen South Atlantic and South Central States and the District of Columbia. The percentage would be even higher for Southeastern States alone.

[35] Odum, *op. cit.*, p. 391. On pages 489-491 Odum quotes Rupert B. Vance: "Until recently in this country no critical theory of tenancy has been developed which takes into consideration the fact that while the United States is drifting into tenancy, certain European countries with semi-feudal backgrounds, notably Denmark, Ireland, and France, have made the transitions to peasant proprietorship."

[36] Couch, *op. cit.*, p. 25. "This section [Appalachian-Ozark] is responsible for the fact that the South has a larger number of practically self-sufficing farms than any other important section in the United States." C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, Washington, 1938.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

565
105

The failure of the Southern whites to co-operate for economic ends is tragic. A Southern adaptation of co-operative patterns found successful elsewhere, if generally accepted, would afford a fuller, richer existence for the thousands of families which go their individual, poverty-stricken ways in the mistaken belief that co-operation is incompatible with independence. European peasants are renowned for their independence as well as for their co-operation."

The Southern population is mobile, one out of every three Southern tenant families moving yearly.[16] The Bulgarian population is permanent, as shown in the study I made of the farmers of one Bulgarian village where 91.4 per cent of the male family heads and 96.3 per cent of their fathers had been born in the same village.[19] We would expect this contrast because of the differences in the economic system.

But there is an interesting similarity between Bulgarians and the Southeast in those population characteristics which are dependent upon biological factors. The Southeast is often called the "nursery of the Nation" with a natural increase of 9.5 (birth rate 21.7, death rate 12.2),[20] whereas Bulgaria is one of the leaders of Europe in this respect with a natural increase of 10.5 (birth rate 23.9, death rate 13.4).[21]

Homogeneity is characteristic of Bulgarian people as it is of the Southern white, not only in respect to similarity of racial strain but in respect to religion as well. Most Bulgarians are adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church; most Southern whites are Protestants.[22]

The Southern whites share the region with a numerous minority; Bulgaria has no significant minority problem, for the Turks who comprised 11 per cent

[17] This co-operation can be expressed on an informal basis as well as through a formal organization. Carl C. Taylor, Head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, in addressing the American Association of School Administrators in February, 1940, said: "Self-help is no new doctrine in rural areas, and the best approach to the improvement of rural life on all fronts is to utilize the capacities for self-sufficiency and to expand self-help from an individual to a community and co-operative basis. To do otherwise is so completely to urbanize farming and farm life as to lose nationally the unique contributions which country life always has made and always should make to our civilization."

[18] *Report on Economic Conditions of the South,* National Emergency Council, 1938, p. 47.

[19] The Sociology of a Bulgarian Shopski Village, doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1938.

[20] Odum, *op. cit.,* p. 492 (evidently includes both Negro and white rates).

[21] *The New International Yearbook, 1938, article on Bulgaria.* Note the decline since 1926 when the natural increase was 20.1 (birth rate 37, death rate 17) D. Kostov, *Geografia Na Bulgaria i Susednite i Durzhavi* (Geography of Bulgaria and Neighboring States), Plovdiv, 1928.

[22] Odum, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

565 105 of the population in 1926 have been returning to Turkey at a greatly accelerated pace.

There are striking anthropological contrasts between the Bulgarian peasant and the Southern white. The most marked of these is the peasant's close identification with a folk culture which is characterized by a consciousness of kind, established patterns of habit and thought, artifacts identified with that culture alone, and a strong exercise of social control. There is also uniformity of dress, agricultural method, and social values.

Among the Southern whites the Appalachian-Ozark area alone possesses the characteristics of a folk, for its people are closely knit together, have mountain handicrafts of which they are proud,[33] and, although differing in economic status, tend to conform to cultural patterns handed from the past. On the contrary, the tenant farmer may have his share of superstitions, folk remedies, and traditional attitudes, but he lacks "consciousness of kind" which would identify him with a folk culture.[34]

The four social institutions which I wish to mention briefly but which I shall not compare in detail are the family, education, religion, and government.[35]

596 105 The Bulgarian family is patriarchal, children are valued as economic assets; there is a strong kinship feeling even unto the third and fourth generation. Marriage is still an arrangement between two families under the sole control of the church. Family disorganization in the form of desertion or divorce is practically unknown; illegitimacy rare.

871 105 There is compulsory education to the fourteenth year in Bulgaria. However, the law is seldom invoked because the parents have recognized the economic value of education. That is why Bulgaria is the most literate country in the Balkans, a testimony to the high value the peasants place upon education and the rigid social control at work in the compact villages. If some

[33] W. T. Couch, *op. cit.*, chapter 15—The Handicrafts by Allen H. Eaten; chapter 19—Appalachian America by J. Worley Hatcher; chapter 26—Folk and Folklore by B. A. Botkin.

[34] The folk culture is quite different from a regional or Southern culture such as Odum describes at length in his Chapter IX in *Southern Regions* on Institutions and Folkways. The Bulgarian peasant is primarily identified with the village culture and secondarily with newer national culture in process of development. The Southern white is identified with a regional culture but not with a folk culture.

[35] Because of space limitations I omitted a section dealing with Psychological Comparisons. This would have compared the race prejudice and regional "inferiority complex" of the Southerner with the nationalism and sensitiveness to criticism of the Bulgarian. Bulgaria, defeated in the World War, has its Lost Cause as does the South. Bulgarians, like Southerners, have gained the reputation for conservatism and hospitality. On the other hand, industry is more a Bulgarian than a Southern trait.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

181
565

The Bulgarian peasant in thinking horizontally identifies himself with other agriculturalists and accepts their culture as a heritage of which he is proud. He derives strength as an individual from his consciousness of kind. His attitude was forcibly demonstrated when I tried to get answers to a questionnaire on occupational attitudes. I could not get a single peasant to answer one simple question: If you were not a farmer, what would you most prefer to be? It was inconceivable to them that they should be anything other than farmers. Although the Bulgarian peasant rides frequently in a bus or automobile it never occurs to him to want one of his own. If given an additional sum of money to spend he would buy more of what he already has—land, a new house, or animals. Because he thinks horizontally he co-operates with his fellows. As a matter of course he submits to stern social control for the common good.

I would like to say in conclusion that the lot of the Bulgarian peasant is not an enviable one; his plane of living is low, but the improvement that will take place can occur in the social organization already in existence. The Bulgarian does have security for which he has had to pay the price of class distinction, at least as it exists in the minds of others; whether the disadvantaged groups of the South are becoming typed as a class without gaining security in exchange is a matter for serious consideration. In the South we are faced with the fact of disorganization among our rural population and a consequent reorganization. It has not been my purpose to map the plan this reorganization should follow, but to present a comparison which may help to clarify and stimulate our thinking as we search realistically for a solution.

11: Logio S-4 (no date)/1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

000 and to work for its welfare, its success, its honour and glory, by the same motives which prompt him to desire and to work for his own welfare and success and honour... In this way, that is by extension to the group, the egoistic impulses are transmuted, sublimated and deprived of their individualistic selfish character and effects and are turned to public service".

517 M. I. P. Kepov, a noted Bulgarian educationalist in
•565 his very informative book „Our actuality", not only sets out to lecture the intellectuals for their shortcomings pointing out to them several of their defects and the unfortunate concequences they have hitherto produced, but also dwells on their envy, their vindictivenecs, intolerance of others, their lack of idealism and attachment to traditions, their self-sufficiency and extreme materialism, and their contempt of the peasant class out of which they have all sprung. He has arraigned a formidable indictement against them, and he shares the view prevalent among the peasantry who ascribe to the intellectuals the main cause of their country's disasters. The book draws a very black picture of the social life of the Bulgarian, and unfortunately it can not be said that the author exaggerates. Such poverty in emotional life, mistrustfulness, and self-centredness cannot but be devastating to the soul, and some device must be found to blow up the Chinese walls with which every Bulgarian seems to have encased himself. By participating more largely in social life, he might be made to share the satisfactions and enjoyments accruing to every participant in active group life, for nobody will dispute Wm. Mc. Dougall's (op. cit. p. 68.) statement that:

„The consciousness of the group and of oneself as a member of it brings a sense of power and security, an assurance of sympathy and co-operation, a normal and physical support without which man can hardly face the world".

It is sad to record that the political institutions borrowed from the West, the extreme centralisation of the administration have been altogether uncongenial to the

A PSYCHOLOGICAL ESSAY

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Bulgarian and have stifled what public spirit existed among them at their liberation. The Turk was not the hard task-master he was reported to be, on the contrary he was tolerant enough to permit the Bulgarians to conduct their communal life on the lines they thought best. This communal semi-independence fostered the growth of a group spirit that readily manifested itself during the early years of the country's independence, examples of which have been often noted. M. Kepov also alludes to the kindly and well-meant efforts of the teaching profession in those years, to the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice they showed in their attempts to spread education amongst their countrymen, but the blight of politics soon froze this budding sociability. The politician in his endeavour to become omnipotent persecuted the teachers as likely to work up public opinion against him, and any manifestations of independent thought on their part was punished by dismissal. Thus the teaching profession was alienated and turned for consolation to socialism. Instead of working for the spread of views likely to strengthen the prestige of the State, they started spreading subversive notions utterly foreign to the traditional conceptions of the community they lived in and which the peasantry could not assimilate. Thus those who ought to have guided the people in their upward path completely estranged themselves both from those in authority and from the popular masses. The peasantry, as was to be expected, could not at all appreciate the Marxian gospel and began to view very suspiciously these missionaries in their midst, especially when they attempted to undermine the national religion and customs, by the weapon of ridicule. The rest of the intellectuals looked upon the peasant masses with the same contempt and lack of interest. They took no notice of them until elections were drawing near when politicians would start visiting the

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village and start inundating them in a spate of demagogic rhetoric. The orators of each political group would start vituperating and abusing their rivals, thus undermining completely the prestige of the intellectuals until the peasantry came to look on all with undisguised hatred and contempt. There has not been an example of such a deep cleavage within a people in recent times except in Tsarist Russia, with the well-known consequences, and if something is not done to assure the peasantry that the State will henceforth uphold and protect their interests, and instil in them the conviction that the abuses of the past are definitely over, we may well be anxious as to the future, for however self-sacrificing and patriotic the rulers of Bulgaria may be, the task they have shouldered is a stupendous one and the organs they must depend on for carrying it out are not as reliable as could be wished. And yet it is through the efforts of this „intelligentsia" that the country will have to work its way upwards, for the salvation of countries, the evolution of which has been retarded, depends on the predominance of urban civilisation over rural backwardness.

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It is of undoubted interest to record the views of one of the leaders of the sole political party which was actuated by a true conception of democratic principles and which persistently upheld them, but which failed to rally round it sufficient supporters to impose them because the Bulgarian elector expected to get some direct advantages in exchange for his vote, a practice the Bulgarian Radicals always denounced and fought against.

Thus M. Kosturkov speaking in the Sobranye on December 21, 1926 said among other things:

„We are with servile souls. A nation impregnated with a sense of freedom and having a sense of self-respect does not allow the authorities to usurp its liberty and its rights. It is always ready to place its rulers in their due place. I am not indignant at the servi-

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
Bulgaria EE1

474 241 completed only 15 percent on time, and the spring sowing 10 percent.[8]

474 565 661 The amount of compulsory self-criticism ensuing on such events, and the number of purges and trials of officials and arrests and trials of *kulaks,* bourgeois "saboteurs" and other criminals, can be imagined. In the article already quoted, Mr. Chernokolev admitted that there had been "serious mistakes" even in administering the comparatively moderate Bulgarian collectivization program, with the result that many "injustices" had occurred. Party organizations had failed to gauge correctly what was technically possible, people who owned land without actually working it had been admitted to collectives, even *kulaks* had been taken in, and so on. When lands were exchanged so that practicable coöperative farms might be organized, peasant rights often were "grossly violated." *Kulak* elements "took advantage of this and in a number of cases tried hard to win to their side the disgruntled poor and medium peasants and endeavored to turn them against the coöperatives and the people's power." They not only tried, apparently, but succeeded, for in some villages, the writer records, they fomented "strife between coöperative members and individual peasants," which "created a certain danger for the alliance between the working class and the poor and medium peasants."

Since the Cominform journal is designed for an international audience these comments were more moderate than those made on the spot. In a speech before the Central Committee of the Party in June 1949, Kolarov spoke of "clearly unreasonable and unfair" measures taken against the peasants; of many peasants being forced to join collectives against their will; and of peasants being indifferent to whether crops were big or small, the quota to be sold to the state at a fixed price being much too high—in some cases even comprising the total harvest.[9]

Kolarov put the blame for all that had gone wrong in the countryside on Kostov. So did Chervenkov. So did the Bulgarian press. So did the Committee which investigated Kostov's activities for the Grand National Assembly. It reported that besides the crimes de-

[8] *New York Herald Tribune,* April 16, 1950.
[9] Quoted in *The Economist,* London, July 16, 1949.

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
Bulgaria EE1

scribed in the preceding chapter he had "carried out a policy leading to the estrangement of the overwhelming mass of medium peasants and of a great part of the small peasants from the Fatherland Front and putting them under the influence of *kulaks* and the reaction, thus destroying the union between workers and peasants." [10] This was very convenient. At one stroke Kostov was linked with the crisis in the countryside, and an excuse was provided for the existence of the crisis. It was not a very good excuse, for the same difficulties with the peasants continued after Kostov had been eliminated from any share in the country's economic life. As for the expectation that the trial would sober nationalist elements in the Party, that did not seem to work out to Moscow's satisfaction either. One count of top-level Communist officials purged in the six months beginning October 1949 showed a tally of nearly 50.

Class war in the villages, presaged by Dimitrov in December 1948, did not materialize at once. The expectation may have been that the simple threat would overcome peasant resistance, but when it did not a new model statute for collective farms was brought up "for discussion," *i.e.* to prepare the peasants for what the Party had decided would now be imposed by force. Peasants who had come into the collective system and those who had stayed out would both be hit. A member's share in the profits of a coöperative (if there were profits: another story) was henceforth going to be figured 30 percent on the amount of land he had put in and 70 percent on the number of "work days" he contributed, instead of being compensated, as formerly, in direct proportion to the amount of land and the number of "work days." In other words, he was becoming one-third a landowner and two-thirds a state agricultural worker. If he knew about what had happened to the Russian peasants in the final step of the Soviet agrarian "reform" in 1937 he could foresee what would become of the remaining one-third of Bulgarian land values. Actually, of course, the distinction between "rent" for land and "pay" for labor often was theoretical anyway. The product of a collective is turned in to the state in amounts fixed in advance and in return for payment at rates which in practice are confiscatory. A

[10] Report by the Bulgarian radio, Sofia, July 20, 1949, of the proceedings on that date in the Bulgarian Grand National Assembly.

Soviet groove. Secondly, Bulgaria is highly important to Russia strategically. She flanks enemy Jugoslavia. She provides the only direct approach to Greece since Tito has closed the main route. She adjoins Turkey, on whom the Soviets desire to exert pressure from all directions. She is, as we have seen, Russia's chosen instrument of intervention in the Macedonian question. On every count she is the country which, more directly than any other except Poland, can be useful to Russia in the present line-up of European forces. It is not by chance that she and Poland had the honor of being the first to receive high officers of the Soviet Army as commanders-in-chief of their troops.

The sources of opposition are two. One is nationalism. It may be called Titoism or Kostovism, but it is always treason. Nationalists are dealt with as Petkov and Kostov were dealt with. These two, such poles apart, are simply conspicuous examples among tens of thousands who have suffered for opposing the Communization or Sovietization of their country. Any successors they may have, whether noble like Petkov or hateful like Kostov, will be put down with the same irresistible brutality.

The other source of opposition is the peasantry. The peasants resist being made into sharecroppers. They do not think that they are being forced into collectives so that a great social goal can be achieved but in order that a group of adventurers can exploit their hold on them and on the country more conveniently. The Communists are everything that peasants hate and fear—the city slicker, the government bureaucrat. These newcomers in the villages, wearing city clothes, often speaking with a foreign accent, urge the peasants to enter collectives for their own good. Those who do are only one degree better off than those who do not—they are allowed to live, while those who refuse starve. But they live as serfs. They will work for the rest of their lives, as they figure it, to support others who will not or cannot work so hard as they must do—other peasants who have let their lands run down and are glad to merge with those who have kept theirs up, and surplus townsfolk who will never learn to "pay their way." That there are other answers to such arguments than force does not matter. The answer has been given, and it is force.

[i.e. Opposition to Sovietization---Analyst]